



Painted by Henry Meyer.

Engraved by J. H. Hills.

A FEMALE MISSIONARY

Instructing a Native African.

'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.'

Isaiah LXVIII. 31.

'Go . . . teach all Nations.'

Matthew XXVIII. 19.

Designed for the Abolitionist.

THE ABOLITIONIST:

OR RECORD OF THE

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

EDITED BY A COMMITTEE

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THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

JANUARY, 1833.

[NO. I.

THE ABOLITIONIST.

THE object of the Abolitionist, as its name indicates, is to promote the abolition of slavery, and also to improve the condition of the free people of color in the United States. The work will be under the editorial supervision of a Committee of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

We believe that very unsound opinions and unchristian feelings, in regard to slavery, prevail throughout our country. Even in the states in which slavery is not tolerated, the great majority of the people are its apologists and supporters. Many, while they acknowledge that slavery is an evil, seem quite unconscious that to keep men in bondage is a sin. They pity the unfortunate slaveholder, but have no sympathy for the wretched slave. While they lament that a large portion of our country should have its morals corrupted, its wealth and strength impaired, and its future prospects shrouded in gloom, by the institution of slavery, they with the greatest inconsistency brand every one as an unprincipled incendiary, who attempts to point out any remedy for these present and future evils.

We contend that slavery is as proper a subject of discussion, as any other topic in which large numbers of men are concerned; and no good reason can be shown for restraining the liberty of the press on this subject, which will not apply to many others. Bonaparte, and other despotic rulers, have thought that no measures of government ought to be freely canvassed in the public prints. If it be once admitted that there is any one topic in which the public is concerned, on which the press may not speak freely, there is no principle on which the freedom of the press can be defended.

While, however, we advocate the unrestrained right of expressing opinion, we are far from recommending the publication of any thing designed to excite the slaves to insurrection. Pieces with such an object will find

no admission in the Abolitionist, and will receive from it nothing but reprobation.

We shall address ourselves to the reason and humanity of our countrymen. We see among us a large proportion of our population distinguished from the rest only in color and features, who are yet, on account of this distinction, made the victims of an inveterate and unchristian prejudice. Knowing that our countrymen are men, and that the great majority of them are Christians, we shall endeavor to show that this prejudice is not sanctioned either by reason, religion, or humanity. We shall, therefore, call on every individual, who feels convinced of this truth, to exert himself to impress it upon his neighbors. Believing in a superintending Providence, we cannot doubt that truth and justice will finally prevail.

We shall advocate IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. Let not our readers startle at the words. We shall show by abundant facts before the year is out, that wherever the experiment of immediate abolition has been tried, it has been successful. Even the history of Hayti, which has been so much misunderstood and misrepresented, affords unanswerable evidence of this truth.

We shall recommend the moral and intellectual education of the people of color in our country, both bond and free. Even corporeal liberty is of little comparative value to its possessors, while their minds remain enslaved to ignorance, sloth and sensuality.

We cannot, in the course of these brief introductory remarks, present our readers with all our opinions on the momentous subjects which will be discussed in our publication. All that we can promise is, hearts devoted to the great cause in which we are engaged. If our publication shall in some degree, however small, promote it, our labors will not be in vain.

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The First Annual Meeting of this Society takes place on the second Wednesday of January, instant, on which occasion a general invitation is given by its Managers to all the friends of the colored race in New-England to be present. A particular account of the proceedings (which are expected to be of an interesting character) will be given in the Abolitionist for February.

This Society was formed on the first of January, 1832. The second article of its Constitution explains the purposes of its organization:

'Article 2. The objects of the Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'

We think it may be truly said, that no society, commencing under such adverse circumstances and possessing such limited means, has ever risen so rapidly in importance, or so widely operated upon public sentiment, or at the expiration of its first year given so much promise of usefulness, as the Anti-Slavery Society. It is true, extraordinary efforts have been made to crush it, by the enemies of full and immediate restitution to the slaves; hideous caricatures of its features have been held up to the public view; its claims for the victims of southern oppression, although graduated by the lowest scale of justice, have created in various quarters alarming apprehensions, simply because they have been misinterpreted by ignorance, or exaggerated by prejudice:---but, in despite of the opposition of a rival, well-disciplined and powerful association, and of these various hindrances, the Anti-Slavery Society has accomplished much for the cause of liberty and justice, by a wide dissemination of its principles, and the employment of a zealous and intelligent Agent. Probably, through its instrumentality, more public addresses on the subject of slavery, and appeals in behalf of the contemned free people of color, have been made in New-England, during the past year, than were elicited for forty years prior to its organization. These efforts have excited a spirit of inquiry, and a vigorous discussion in the community; the hearts of multitudes have been touched with a flame of sympathy; light

has been shed where all was obscure, though in some instances the darkness 'comprehended it not.'

The Society commences its operations for another year, with a rich accumulation of experience, hope and zeal. Cheered by the promises of Him who cannot lie, relying upon His gracious assistance, and warmed by a love toward all classes of men which many waters cannot quench, it resolves to persevere in its benevolent enterprise, through evil as well as good report, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. May all its measures be such as to commend themselves to all who sincerely desire the welfare of their fellow men, and be acceptable in the sight of the Most High God, 'who has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth'---who regards the cries of the prisoner, and has given us his word that he 'will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor'!

Whatever differences of opinion may prevail, respecting the best mode of attacking the slave-system, there is one object cherished by the Anti-Slavery Society, for the promotion of which all parties and denominations should coalesce---namely, 'to improve the character and condition of the free people of color.' How many more of this unfortunate class are we determined to scorn, and proscribe, and ruin? Do we not owe them an immense debt, for years of suffering, infamy and oppression?---Public odium, like the atmosphere, surrounds them. A sense of inferiority is made to press upon them with a mighty weight. With what face can we, who are persecuting our colored brethren here, assail southern oppressors? If we are unwilling to do justly by them, how shall we plead for justice toward the slaves? If we refuse to educate their children, and leave them in their degradation, how shall we dare arraign the people of the south for keeping their slaves in a similarly ignorant condition? Before New-England can go forward boldly and efficiently in the cause of emancipation, she must elevate her colored population, and rank them with the rest of her children. Reform, not partial but entire---not in the letter but the spirit---must first commence at home. Philanthropists and Christians! come forth, then, to sustain by your contributions the Anti-Slavery Society in this benevolent work, and the blessings of many shall rest upon your heads.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Our reasons for vigorously opposing this mighty combination will be stated, from time to time, in the pages of the Abolitionist. Some of them are forcibly expressed in the following extracts from a Circular, put forth in England by CHARLES STUART, Esq. a gentleman who, by his zeal and activity, now occupies a high rank among the philanthropists of that country.

'The American Colonization Society directly supports the false and cruel idea that the native country of the colored people of the United States is not their native country, and that they never can be happy until they either exile themselves, or are exiled; and thus powerfully conduces to extinguish in them all those delightful hopes, and to prevent all that glorious exertion, which would make them a blessing to their country. In this particular, the American Colonization Society takes up a falsehood, as cruel to the colored people, as it is disgraceful to themselves; dwells upon it, as if it were an irrefragable truth; urges it, as such, upon others; and thus endeavors with all its force, to make that *practically true*, which is one of the greatest stains in the American character; which is one of the greatest scourges that could possibly afflict the free colored people; and which, in itself, is essentially and unalterably false. For be the pertinacity of prejudice what it may, in asserting that the blacks of America never can be amalgamated, in all respects, in equal brotherhood with the whites, it will not the less remain an everlasting truth, that the wickedness which produced and perpetuates the assertion, is the only ground of the difficulty, and that all that is requisite to remove the whole evil, is the relenting in love of the proud and cruel spirit which produced it. Could the American Colonization Society succeed in establishing their views on this subject, as being really true of the people of the United States, it would only prove that the people of the United States were past repentance; that they were given over, through their obstinacy in sin, finally to believe a lie; to harden themselves, and to perish in their iniquity. But they have not succeeded in establishing this fearful fact against themselves; and as long as they continue capable of repentance, it *never* can be true, that the proud and baneful prejudices which now so cruelly alienate them from their colored brethren, may not, will not, must not, yield to the sword of the Spirit, to the Word of God, to the blessed weapons of truth and love.'

'The American Colonization Society looks abroad over its own country, and it finds a mass of its brethren, whom God has been pleased to clothe with a darker skin. It finds one portion of these free; another enslaved!

It finds a cruel prejudice, as dark and false as sin can make it, reigning with a most tyrannous sway against both. It finds this prejudice respecting the *free*, declaring without a blush, 'We are too wicked ever to love them as God commands us to do—we are so resolute in our wickedness as not even to desire to do so—and we are so proud in our iniquity that we will hate and revile whoever disturbs us in it—We want, like the devils of old, to be let alone in our sin—We are unalterably determined, and neither God nor man shall move us from this resolution, that our free colored fellow subjects never shall be happy in their native land.' The American Colonization Society, I say, finds this most base and cruel prejudice, *and lets it alone*; nay more, it directly and powerfully supports it.

'The American Colonization Society finds 2,000,000 of its fellow subjects most iniquitously enslaved—and it finds a resolution as proud and wicked as the very spirit of the pit can make it against obeying God and letting them go free in their native land. *It lets this perfectly infernal resolution alone*, nay more, it powerfully supports it; for it in fact says, as a fond and feeble father might say to some overgrown baby before whose obstinate wickedness he quailed, 'Never mind, my dear, I don't want to prevent your beating and abusing your brothers and sisters—let that be—but here is a box of sugar plums—do pray give them one or two now and then.' The American Colonization Society says practically to the slaveholders and the slave party in the United States, 'We don't want to prevent your plundering 2,000,000 of our fellow subjects of their liberty and of the fruits of their toil; although we know that by every principle of law which does not utterly disgrace us by assimilating us to pirates, that they have as good and as true a right to the equal protection of the law as we have; and although we ourselves stand prepared to die, rather than submit even to a fragment of the intolerable load of oppression to which we are subjecting them—yet never mind—let that be—they have grown old in suffering, and we in iniquity—and we have nothing to do now but to speak *peace, peace*, to one another in our sins. But if any of their masters, whether from benevolence, an awakened conscience, or political or personal fear, should emancipate any, let us send them to Liberia—that is, in fact, let us give a sugar plum here and there to a few, while the many are living and dying unredressed—and while we are thus countenancing the atrocious iniquity beneath which they are perishing.' In this aspect I find the American Colonization Society declaring itself a substitute for emancipation, and it is in this aspect that I contend with it, and that I proclaim it, *as far as it has this character*, no farther, a bane to the colored people, whether enslaved or free, and a snare and a disgrace to its country.'

PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE.

The heart of every good man, whose eye meets this petition, will unite in its spirit and desires. We find it at the close of an impressive sermon on 'The guilt of forbearing to deliver British Colonial Slaves,' by Daniel Wilson, M. A. Vicar of Islington.

'Do Thou be pleased, O God of mercy, to look upon us as a nation! Do Thou move the heart of the people as the heart of one man! Do Thou touch us with compunction! Do Thou permit us to repair this mighty injustice, before Thou smitest us for our refusal to do so! Do Thou permit and enable us to break the chains of bondage, ere Thou burst them in thine indignation! Do Thou assist us to rise above all difficulties and to resist all temptations to delay, and to set a pattern of justice at length to that world, which we have been injuring by our example of selfishness and cruelty! Do Thou enable us to make what compensation we can to the oppressed negro race, for the wrongs we have done them!

'Suffer us not to go on in our provocations of thy divine Majesty! Give us not over, as thou justly mightest, to hardness of heart. LET US NOT REFUSE, LIKE PHARAOH OF OLD, TO LET THE PEOPLE GO, till thy vengeance is uplifted against us, till thou sendest confusion into our councils, a blight upon all our prosperity, war in our borders, ruin in our national concerns, despair and death in our land!

'Let us yet,—O let us, by thy mercy, be still the people of Thy pasture! Let truth and righteousness abound among us! Let us set the captives free, and nobly trust to Thee in following the path of duty! Let Thy gospel yet flourish among us!

'Let our nation be still the glory of the reformed countries, the herald of liberty and peace and social order and religion, to the neighboring states; the messenger of grace to the Jew and Gentile; the dispenser of happiness and salvation to mankind! And then to thy name, thy mercy, thy long-suffering, thy power, thy grace, shall be the praise for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

ELOQUENT EXTRACT.

As a specimen of the doctrines which are advocated by the English abolitionists, and the manner in which they are received by the people, we present the following extract from a powerful speech delivered at Edinburgh, Oct. 19, 1830, by Andrew Thomson, D. D. Of a truth, it contains 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn.'

'I do not deny, Sir, notwithstanding what I have now said, that the evils of practical slavery may be lessened. By parliamentary enactments, by colonial arrangements, by appeals to the judgment and feelings of plant-

ers, and by various other means, a certain degree of melioration *may* be secured. But I say, in the *first* place, that, with all that you can accomplish, or reasonably expect of mitigation, you cannot alter the nature of slavery itself. With every improvement you have superinduced upon it, you have not made it less debasing, less cruel, less destructive in its essential character. The black man is still the *property* of the white man. And that one circumstance not only implies in it the transgression of inalienable right and everlasting justice, but is the fruitful and necessary source of numberless mischiefs, the very thought of which harrows up the soul, and the infliction of which no superintendence of any government can either prevent or control. Mitigate and keep down the evil as much as you can, still it is there in all its native virulence, and still it will do its malignant work in spite of you. The improvements you have made are merely superficial. You have not reached the seat and vital spring of the mischief. You have only concealed in some measure, and for a time, its inherent enormity. Its essence remains unchanged and untouched, and is ready to unfold itself whenever a convenient season arrives, notwithstanding all your precaution, and all your vigilance, in those manifold acts of injustice and inhumanity, which are its genuine and its invariable fruits. You may white-wash the sepulchre—you may put upon it every adornment that fancy can suggest,—you may cover it over with all the flowers and evergreens that the garden or the fields can furnish, so that it will appear beautiful outwardly unto men. But it is a sepulchre still,—full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. (*Great cheering.*) Disguise slavery as you will,—put into the cup all the pleasing and palatable ingredients which you can discover in the wide range of nature and of art,—still it is a bitter, bitter, bitter draught, from which the understanding and the heart of every man, in whom nature works unsophisticated and unbiassed, recoils with unutterable aversion and abhorrence. (*Immense cheering.*) Why, Sir, slavery is the very Upas tree of the moral world, beneath whose pestiferous shade all intellect languishes, and all virtue dies. (*Reiterated cheering.*) And if you would get quit of the evil, you must go more thoroughly and effectually to work than you can ever do by any or by all of those palliatives, which are included under the term "mitigation." The foul sepulchre must be taken away. The cup of oppression must be dashed to pieces on the ground. The pestiferous tree must be cut down and eradicated; it must be, root and branch of it, cast into the consuming fire, and its ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven. (*Loud and long continued cheering.*) It is thus that you must deal with slavery. You must annihilate it,—annihilate it now,—and annihilate it for ever.'

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. I.

The idea of the immediate emancipation of the slaves is invariably associated, in the minds of many individuals, with rapine and slaughter. To a diseased imagination, it appears a monster, huge and infuriate, who, on breaking the chains that bind him, would rush through the land, crushing beneath his feet the bodies of men, women and children, and drinking their blood like water. Nothing can be more ridiculous. Were the proposition to liberate all the slaves, deprive them of all employment and instruction, persecute them with new rigor, and let them roam lawlessly about the country, surely these effects might naturally be supposed to follow its adoption. But it neither means nor implies any such thing; but simply that the slaves who are without the protection of law shall have that protection—that all property of man in man shall instantly cease—and that a fair recompense shall be given to the slaves as free laborers.

We propose to show, in a series of numbers, taken from a pamphlet recently published in England, facts proving the good conduct and prosperity of emancipated slaves, and the entire safety of immediately abolishing slavery in the United States.

‘Of the many persons who declare themselves averse to slavery and yet afraid to join in measures for its abolition, some perhaps have not paid much attention to the instances of emancipation that have already taken place. If any such will take the trouble to read the following account of the effects of emancipation as far as it has hitherto been tried, they will perhaps see that their fears on the subject are not justified by experience.

‘The History of Hayti when separated from the accidental circumstances attending it, furnishes irrefragable evidence of the safety and advantage of immediate emancipation. It is true that much blood was shed there during the French revolution; but this was not owing to the emancipation of the slaves, but was the consequence either of the* civil war which preceded the act of emancipation; or of the atrocious attempt to restore slavery.

‘In September, 1793, Polvirel, one of the Commissioners sent to St. Domingo by the National Convention, issued a proclamation declaring the whole of the slaves in the island free. Colonel Malenfant, a slave proprietor, resident at the time in the island, thus describes the effects of this sudden measure.† “After this public act of emancipation, the Negroes remained quiet both in the south and in the west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors where there were any even inferior agents to guide them, and on those estates where no

white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labor as quietly as before.” Colonel Malenfant says,* that when many of his neighbors, proprietors or managers, were in prison, the negroes of their plantations came to him to beg him to direct them in their work. “If† you will take care not to talk to them of the restoration of slavery, but talk to them of freedom, you may with this word chain them down to their labor. How did Toussaint succeed?—How did I succeed before his time in the plain of the Culde-Sae on the plantation Gouraud, during more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, let the blacks themselves, be asked: they will all reply that not a single negro upon that plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, refused to work: and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I inspired the same activity into three other plantations of which I had the management. If all the negroes had come from Africa within six months, if they had the love of independence that the Indians have, I should own that force must be employed; but ninety-nine out of a hundred of the blacks are aware that without labor they cannot procure the things that are necessary for them; that there is no other method of satisfying their wants and their tastes. They know that they must work, they wish to do so, and they will do so.”

“Such was the conduct of the negroes for the first nine months after their liberation, or up to the middle of 1794. In the latter part of 1796, Malenfant says, “The colony was flourishing under Toussaint, the whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them.” General Lecroix who published his “Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo” in 1819, says that in 1797 the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. “The Colony,” says he, “marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor: cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proof of its progress.” General Vincent,‡ who was a general of brigade of artillery in St. Domingo and a proprietor of estates in the island, was sent by Toussaint to Paris in 1801 to lay before the Directory the new constitution which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo. He arrived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens, and found that Bonaparte was preparing an armament for the purpose of restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He remonstrated against the expedition; he stated that it was totally unnecessary and

* See this point fully proved in Clarkson’s *Thoughts on the necessity of improving the Condition of the Slaves*, &c. pp. 19 to 29.—HATCHARD.

† *Memoire Historique et Politique des Colonies*, &c. p. 62.

* *Memoire* p. 307.

† *Memoire* p. 125.

‡ *Clarkson’s Thoughts* p. 2.

therefore criminal, for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making rapid progress; the blacks were industrious and beyond example happy. He conjured him, therefore, not to reverse this beautiful state of things; but his efforts were ineffectual, and the expedition arrived upon the shores of St. Domingo. At length, however, the French were driven from the island. Till that time the planters had retained their property, and then it was, and not till then, that they lost their all. In 1804 Dessalines was proclaimed Emperor; in process of time a great part of the black troops were disbanded, and returned to cultivation again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them.

The following account of the character and condition of the negroes of Hayti, at a later period, is taken from "Sketches of Hayti" by Mr. Harvey, who during the latter part of the reign of Christophe spent a considerable time at Cape Francois, the capital of his dominions. "The cultivators who formed the great mass of the population, resided on or near the plantations on which they were appointed to labor. A great proportion of them were engaged in cultivating the estates of the king; if soldiers, they were fed and clothed at his expense; if regular cultivators, they received such a share of the produce as was fully adequate to yield them a competent maintenance. Others were in the employ of the nobles and officers, who received either stated wages or such a portion of the article they cultivated as was deemed a sufficient reward for their industry, were equally supplied with whatever could contribute to their comfort. And those who by their exertions and economy were enabled to procure small spots of land of their own or to hold the smaller plantations at an annual rent, were diligently engaged in cultivating coffee, sugar, and other articles, which they disposed of to the inhabitants of the adjacent towns and villages. It was an interesting sight to behold this class of the Haytians, now in possession of their freedom, coming in groups to the market nearest which they resided, bringing the produce of their industry for sale; and afterwards returning, carrying back the necessary articles of living which the disposal of their commodities had enabled them to purchase; all evidently cheerful and happy. Nor could it fail to occur to the mind that their present condition furnished the most satisfactory answer to that objection to the general emancipation of slaves, founded on their alleged unfitness to value and improve the benefits of liberty.

'Though of the same race and possessing the same general traits of character as the negroes of the other West India islands, they are already distinguished from them by habits

of industry and activity such as slaves are seldom known to exhibit. As they would not suffer, so they do not require, the attendance of one acting in the capacity of a driver with the instrument of punishment in his hand. As far as I had an opportunity of ascertaining from what fell under my own observation, and from what I gathered from other European residents, I am persuaded of one general fact which on account of its importance, I shall state in the most explicit terms, viz.: that the Haytians employed in cultivating the plantations, as well as the rest of the population, perform as much work in a given time as they were accustomed to do during their subjection to the French. And if we may judge of their future improvement by the change which has been already effected, it may be reasonably anticipated that Hayti will ere long contain a population not inferior in their industry to that of any civilized nation in the world.

'While the interior of the island was in this improving state, and its inhabitants were peaceful and industrious, Cape Francois and other towns presented scenes of the utmost order and activity: the great majority of the inhabitants of Cape Francois consisted of trades-people and mechanics, the former of whom were supplied by the resident merchants with cloths, linens, silks and other manufactures, which they sold to the natives in small quantities. Their business was seldom so great as to enable them to amass fortunes, but it afforded them ample means of support. Towards strangers who entered their shops, whether for the purpose of making purchases or not, they were invariably and remarkably civil; a trait in the character of Christophe's subjects which I believe to have been universal. The mechanics, though many of them were deficient in skill from having been imperfectly instructed, were all enabled by their industry to gain a competent maintenance. On the whole, the scene which Cape Francois presented was as interesting as it was in many respects surprising. In few places of commerce could there be seen greater regularity in the despatch of business, greater diligence displayed by those engaged in it, or more evident marks of a prosperous state of things. Every man had some calling to occupy his attention; instances of idleness or intemperance were of rare occurrence, the most perfect subordination prevailed, and all appeared contented and happy. A foreigner would have found it difficult to persuade himself on his first entering the place, that the people he now beheld so submissive, industrious and contented, were the same people who a few years before had escaped from the shackles of slavery."

'A gentleman who had been for upwards of twenty years past a general merchant in Hayti, frequently crossing to Europe and America, gave the following account of the

condition of the Haytians to Captain Stuart at Belfast last winter. The present population he supposes consists of at least seven hundred thousand. He said that there was very universal happiness amongst them,—and that though their conduct was not unexceptionable, yet there was a less proportion of such crimes as disturb the public peace in Hayti, and less distress, than in any other country of his knowledge. That they obtained abundance by their own labor. There were no paupers except the decrepid and aged: that the people were very charitable, hospitable and kind, very respectful to Europeans, temperate, grateful, faithful, orderly and submissive, easily governable, lively and contented, good mechanics, and that no corporal punishments are allowed.

LETTERS FROM JAMES CROPPER.

In 1831, the American Colonization Society deputed an Agent to England, to secure the charities of her philanthropists for the promotion of its Utopian scheme. As the Friends in that country are numerous, affluent and influential, it was an artful stroke of policy, on the part of the Society, in selecting an individual for this agency belonging to this respectable body, named Elliott Cresson. For nearly two years he has been actively engaged in England, and has succeeded in obtaining a large amount of money. To those who are familiar with the sentiments of our transatlantic brethren on the subject of emancipation, it is well known that the Colonization Society deprecates the prevalence of those sentiments in this country as subversive of the public peace and safety; and that the principles of the Society, as promulgated among us, are held in abhorrence by the British abolitionists. How, then, shall we account for the success of Mr. Cresson? The reason is obvious—he has triumphed, it pains us to state, *by a bold deception!* Many of the statements which he has put forth in England, *are not true.* Take, for example, his monstrous fabrication, that the colony at Liberia consisted of *twenty-five thousand settlers*, of whom *twenty-five hundred* were EMANCIPATED SLAVES! and that, for every £7,10, contributed to the Society, one slave would lose his fetters! He has represented the Colonization Society as aiming directly at the overthrow of slavery! Thus it is that he has found favor in the eyes of the noble-hearted abolitionists of England. Relying on his deceptive assurances, they have manifested a spirit of liberality worthy of those who hold no compromise with oppression.

In the fiftieth number of the *Liberator*, for December 15th, 1832, the following interesting and important Letters are published, from James Cropper, of Liverpool, one of the most distinguished Friends and Philanthropists in Great Britain. His opinions are entitled to great consideration, as expressed below.

BUXTON, 8 mo. 31, 1832.

William Lloyd Garrison:

Esteemed Friend—I have thy letter of the 7th May, which was highly acceptable. The state of my health, which required that I should abstain as much as possible from writing or thinking on deeply interesting subjects, has induced me to be chiefly from home for several months past, not only for the benefit of the Waters, but also a change of air, and also quiet, which I could not have had at home; and this thou wilt accept as my apology for not writing sooner.

I have been aware of thy unwearied efforts to promote the best interests of the African race, and feel much obliged by the proofs afforded in the writings sent to me, with which I agree in sentiment; and I trust the time is fast approaching, when the real friends of the Negro race will be undeceived, and see, in its naked deformity, that most abominable attempt to *perpetuate slavery*, under the title of the American Colonization Society. The real good done by an establishment of free civilized men on the coast of Africa, has deceived many real friends of humanity—whilst the real intention of the plan was concealed. But men must be shallow indeed, who can much longer be deceived by such a scheme as the sending of your whole black population to the coast of Africa. It is quite plain to every man of discernment, that to whatever extent the slave population might be reduced, it would render those who remained more valuable. Slave owners know that slavery can only exist where men are scarce; for it would be impossible, where they are as plentiful as in Ireland, to establish slavery, even if allowed by law. In our Colonies, this scarcity is kept up, by destroying their lives by cruelty and oppression. In yours, it is proposed to transport them. I trust thy writings will contribute to arouse, more and more, the energies of your free black population to a due sense of their interests and duties; for, assuredly, slavery cannot last in the United States, when their civilization and improvement are farther advanced. They feel an attachment to their native land, and I trust they will remain in it, in spite of the efforts of these enemies of the human race, and prove the best means of breaking asunder the chains of their brethren in slavery. But on this subject, I enclose an extract of a letter I have just written to Arnold Buffum.

All are coming round here to the simple and plain ground of IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. Go on, then, with your unwearied efforts, and you

will soon follow in our train; which is the sincere and ardent wish of

Thy friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

For some time past, the Anti-Slavery Society have had Agents delivering Lectures in different parts of the country, preparatory to our next Election, and great success has attended them. The West Indians are employing an Agent to answer our Lecturer in Liverpool and Manchester. All this is doing good, by exciting an increased interest; and when people can be brought to hear, truth and justice must gain ground. J. C.

Extract of a letter from James Cropper to Arnold Buffum.

‘I did indeed feel it as a cordial to my heart to see a Society established within the United States, advocating the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery. I have for some time deeply lamented the chilling influence, on the minds even of the real friends of the Negro, of the American Colonization Society. An establishment on the coast of Africa of those blacks who really go there from their own free choice, is what every friend of humanity must approve, and must rejoice in its success. This has served as a lure, and many of the real friends of humanity have thereby been led into the support of a scheme the most *diabolical* that ever entered into the heart of man to devise; but such delusions have but their day, and I rejoice in believing that *its frightful iniquity is becoming evident*, and that the friends of humanity will soon hasten to disavow all connexion with it. Happily, however, the weakness and folly of the shallow pretext, that it is to remove all the African race to the soil of their ancestors, and to give them freedom, cannot long deceive any one. I am of opinion it would cost more than £150,000,000 sterling to purchase and remove the whole black population, (even if done at once)—and if delayed while they increase, it would cost much more. But even if this were done, let it never be forgotten that if these cultivators of the soil were sent away, the land they cultivate would be entirely worthless, and this would not be less loss to the country than £100,000,000 more. Was ever such an act of national suicide before proposed? The American people must remove from their minds the unchristian prejudices against the color of these their fellow men. *They must make them free at once*: let them then become their *tenants* and the independent cultivators of the soil, and I feel no question that the *land rents* from the Blacks will soon be *far greater than their revenues from the land and slaves together*. Then they may rest assured of the peace of their own homes, resting on the solid foundation of the happiness of their emancipated tenantry. In this country, the wickedness and folly of the sys-

tem of slavery are becoming more and more known and abhorred, and all seem to be rapidly coming round to advocate immediate abolition; and I trust you will not be very long behind us.

‘The proposal of gradual abolition, which was but gradually returning to justice, had a chilling influence on our exertions, so that there was no difference but in degree between the most inveterate advocate of slavery and the gradual abolitionist, for all condemned slavery in the abstract. But now this delusion is gone, this partnership in crime has ended, and we are pursuing a direct, straight forward course.

‘My mind has been turned to writing an article against the schemes of the Colonization Society, and I should have done it before this (probably) if my health had permitted—but I rejoice in believing it will not be wanted. My zealous and devoted friend Capt. Stuart has published an excellent pamphlet, entitled ‘Remarks on the Colony of Liberia, and the American Colonization Society,’ which very ably exposes this scheme.’

LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

BOSTON, (New-England,) 12 mo. 20, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

A deep sense of duty to the cause in which thou hast been so long, so ardently, and so successfully engaged, prompts me to address thee, in relation to thy letter of Dec. 1, 1831, addressed to Elliott Cresson, on the subject of the American Colonization Society. That letter has been published in a garbled form in the African Repository of last month. Those parts in which thou exprestest thy views of the designs of the Society, as represented to thee by one, who, it seems, is a fit Agent for a Society which can succeed only by stratagem and deception, are omitted, and the place supplied by editorial statements, calculated to produce the impression that thou approvest the wicked devices of that institution; and thus thy name is used in support of a scheme for banishing three hundred thousand of the free citizens of the United States to Africa, who form the connecting link in the chain of human society in this country, between the free white citizens and the slaves, and serve as conductors to the minds of the slaves of the spirit of freedom and the principles of human rights.

In the first paragraph in thy letter, thou hast stated that the object of the society seems to be, ‘first, to assist in the emancipation of all the slaves now in the United States.’ Taking this view of the design of the Society, it is not surprising that thou shouldst so far approve its object as thou hast expressed in said letter. But if this was really its design, why did not the Secretary of the Colonization Society, when he published this letter, give thy views of it in thy own words? Surely he

could find no language more appropriate or explicit; but this, it seems, would not answer his purpose—this would have shown what were the principles and measures which thou wouldst approve, which are widely different from the principles and measures of that Society of slaveholders. The Editor of the Repository has, therefore, substituted his own views of the Society's design, and then given such parts only of thy letter as suited his purpose, to lead the public mind into a belief that thou didst approve that design.

Omitting the first paragraph of thy letter, he has stated, in an editorial introduction, that thou dost 'consider the object of the Society two-fold; first, to promote the voluntary emigration to Africa of the colored population of the United States.' Why is this deceptive representation of a plan which thou wouldst approve, now published in the African Repository, almost a year after the date of thy letter? Is it not because the Editor has recently learned that the persecuting spirit of that institution, and its design and tendency to strengthen and perpetuate the slave system, have been detected by that noble band of Christian philanthropists, who, in your country, are engaged in pleading the cause of the oppressed? Had thy letter to E. Cresson been judged favorable to the cause of colonization, as understood and practised by the American Colonization Society, is it not reasonable to suppose that it would have been published entire in the Repository when it first made its appearance?

It is perfectly evident to any one who understands the true character of that Society, that thy letter gives no support to its principles and measures; but, on the contrary, that it breathes a spirit of Christian philanthropy in behalf of the suffering slave, which enters not into the designs of that institution. Besides, the Editor of the Repository was undoubtedly well aware that it would not do to publish, in this country, the other representations, which, it seems, had been made to thee, in order to procure thy name for the promotion of the unhallowed designs of the colonization scheme. Thy statement, therefore, of the representation, that for every £7.10, a slave would receive his freedom, and be colonized, is entirely omitted in the Repository—a representation, which, for unblushing audacity, has rarely been equalled by any man who had any regard for his own reputation, and which is sufficiently answered by a reference to the Constitution of the Society, which declares that 'the object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed shall be to promote a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in this country, on the coast of Africa, or at such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.' And also by a reference to the fact, that with all their resources up to the last Annual Report,

only three hundred and eighty-eight persons, who had ever been slaves, had been emancipated and carried to Liberia; and it is believed that but a very small part of these were emancipated through the influence of the Colonization Society. It is no part of the plan of the Society to promote emancipations: on the contrary, 'they maintain that individual freedom and individual happiness are properly subordinate to the public good.' And again, 'that no slave ought to receive his freedom, except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the country.' Again, 'they regard slavery as a legitimate system, which they have neither inclination, interest, nor ability to disturb.' The object of the Society is most clearly set forth in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Archer, of Virginia, as published in the last Annual Report, which, he says, 'is to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment'—to prevent the depreciation in the value of the slaves, which must otherwise inevitably follow their disproportionate multiplication, being, in the slave states, double that of the whites. I feel the most perfect confidence that no man in England, and especially that none of those who have so nobly espoused the negro's cause, will give their names in support of such a scheme.

When, too, we look at the simple facts in relation to the progress of the colony in Liberia, our hearts sicken at the thought that good men have been deceived and led to contribute to the establishment of a colony there for supplying the natives with ardent spirits, and for making war with them on the slightest pretences, murdering the people, and burning their towns. We cannot see, in such measures, any ground for hope that the cause of civilization and christianity will be thereby promoted. Indeed, judging the future by the past, we see no reason why the colonists themselves are not as likely as any other people on the face of the earth to engage in the African slave trade. When they see the most prominent men in the Society which sent them thither making a business of buying and selling men, women and children in the United States, why should not they follow the example, and supply the ships which visit that coast for the purpose of obtaining slaves? Is it rational to suppose that a Society, which declares that it has no inclination to disturb a system under which one sixth part of the people of the American States are regarded as property; and as articles of commerce, are bought and sold like dumb beasts, and are deprived of every right and privilege which Heaven in mercy designed for the children of men, can have any desire from other than interested motives to suppress the African slave trade? It is not known that an individual member of the Colonization Society has ever

emancipated a single slave to go to the colony, although it is somewhat extraordinary that they have not done so for the sake of appearances.

My object, in making this communication, is, to obtain from thy hand a statement of thy views of the colonization scheme, not as presented by interested agents, but as exhibited in the authentic publications of the Society. I would particularly refer to the two last Reports of the Society, and to an article published in the North American Review for July, 1832—a copy of which I send with this letter to our dear friend James Cropper.

With the best wishes for the continuance of thy useful life, accompanied with the blessing of health, and that happiness which is the reward of a life devoted to the cause of justice and humanity, I have the pleasure to subscribe myself, thy friend, and I hope a humble coadjutor in the cause of emancipation.

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

CENSUS OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE U. S.

	SLAVES.	FREE BLACKS.
Vermont,	0	881
Massachusetts,	0	7,045
New-Hampshire,	0	602
Maine,	0	1,171
Ohio,	0	9,657
New-York,	00	44,869
Indiana,	4	3,629
Rhode Island,	14	3,564
Michigan Territory,	32	261
Connecticut,	25	8,047
Illinois,	747	1,637
Pennsylvania,	403	37,930
New-Jersey,	2,254	18,303
Delaware,	3,292	15,855
Arkansas Territory,	4,576	141
District of Columbia,	6,119	6,152
Florida Territory,	15,501	844
Missouri,	25,091	569
Mississippi,	65,659	519
Maryland,	102,994	52,938
Louisiana,	109,588	16,710
Alabama,	117,549	1,572
Tennessee,	141,603	4,555
Kentucky,	165,213	4,917
Georgia,	217,531	2,486
North Carolina,	245,601	19,543
South Carolina,	315,401	7,921
Virginia,	469,757	47,348
	2,010,629	319,666

By the census of 1830, 4 slaves are reported in Massachusetts, 5 in New Hampshire, 6 in Maine, 6 in Ohio, and 76 in New York. But as no slaves were reported in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Ohio, by the census of 1820, and it is admitted on all hands that slavery cannot legally exist in any one of these states, we have thought it would be a misrepresentation to report any slaves as existing in them. In New-York it is well known that slavery was totally abolished since the census of 1820,

therefore there can be no slave there now. The slaves reported in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, are held contrary to the laws of the United States, and are therefore free.

CENSUS OF 1830.

FREE WHITE PERSONS.		
Males—under 5 years of age,	972,194	
of 5 and under 10,	782,637	
of 10 " 15,	671,638	
of 15 " 20,	575,614	
of 20 " 30,	951,902	
of 30 " 40,	592,596	
of 40 " 50,	369,370	
of 50 " 60,	230,500	
of 60 " 70,	134,910	
of 70 " 80,	58,136	
of 80 " 90,	15,945	
of 90 " 100,	1,993	
of 100 and upwards,	274	5,358,759
Females—under 5 years of age,	920,104	
of 5 and under 10,	751,649	
of 10 " 15,	639,063	
of 15 " 20,	597,713	
of 20 " 30,	915,662	
of 30 " 40,	555,565	
of 40 " 50,	355,425	
of 50 " 60,	225,928	
of 60 " 70,	130,866	
of 70 " 80,	58,034	
of 80 " 90,	17,372	
of 90 " 100,	2,484	
of 100 and upwards,	234	5,167,299

Total number of Free Whites . . . 10,525,058

SLAVES.		
Males—under 10 years of age,	353,845	
of 10 and under 24,	313,676	
of 24 " 36,	185,654	
of 36 " 55,	118,996	
of 55 " 100,	41,456	
of 100 and upwards,	718	1,014,345
Females under 10 years,	347,566	
of 10 and under 24,	308,793	
of 24 " 36,	186,082	
of 36 " 55,	111,753	
of 55 " 100,	41,422	
of 100 and upwards,	668	996,284

Total number of Slaves . . . 2,010,629

FREE COLORED PERSONS.		
Males—under 10 years,	43,737	
of 10 and under 24,	43,126	
of 24 " 36,	27,629	
of 36 " 55,	22,262	
of 55 " 100,	11,375	
of 100 and upwards,	266	153,495
Females under 10 years,	47,347	
of 10 and under 24,	48,125	
of 24 " 36,	32,504	
of 36 " 55,	24,266	
of 55 " 100,	13,369	
of 100 and upwards,	361	165,962

Total number of Free Colored Persons, 319,467
Total aggregate of the United States, 12,856,154

WHY AND BECAUSE,

APPLIED TO SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

The following little article is modified from a trans-atlantic publication:

Why is the condition of the Black population at the South so much brought under the view of the public at this time?

Because this Black population, 2,000,000 in number, are equal in the eye of the Creator, and in the eye of the law, with the White population of our country.

Why is the condition of the Black population in the south worse than that of the laboring population in Europe?

Because the Black is a slave.

The White is a freeman.

The Black works without pay, and is often worked most when he is worst provided for.

The more the White is worked, the more he is paid.

The Black is driven at his work with the cart-whip.

The White can rest his limbs when he likes.

The Black at crop or harvest time is made to work not only all the day, but half the night also.

The White at harvest time works harder, and gets better paid.

The Black's master may flog him at pleasure, for a fault or no fault.

The White's master dare not raise his hand against him.

The Black may at any time be sold like an ox or an ass.

The White can sell his master as easily as his master can him.

The Black's child is the absolute property of his master, and may be torn from home for ever to pay his master's debts.

The White man's home can never be invaded.

Why are planters void of humanity towards their slaves, while towards White people they shew no want of courtesy?

Because they consider the Black as a *thing*, and not as a human being.—He came into their hands by violence and robbery; and being stowed on shipboard as goods, the planter still believes him to be such.

A FEW PLAIN QUESTIONS TO PLAIN MEN.

The following pithy questions, although pounded by the British abolitionists to the people of Great Britain, are worthy of consideration by the American people:

Can a slave marry without his owner's consent? If so, quote the law: *give chapter and verse*.

Can a slave prevent the sale of his wife if the owner pleases? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave prevent the sale of his own child, if his owner pleases? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave with impunity refuse to flog his wife, with her person all exposed, if his owner pleases to command him? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave obtain redress if *his master* deprives him of his goods? If so, quote the law.

Can a slave attend either public or private worship, without the risk of punishment, if his master forbids him? If so, quote the law.

These are plain questions, which every slave-owner knows can only be truly answered in one way.

When then any individual gets up to tell you how well the slaves are treated, or how happy under such circumstances slaves may be, tell him that he insults your understanding, that he outrages your republican feeling, and that he dishonors God.

A HUSBAND AND A FATHER.

EXPOSTULATORY LETTER TO GEO. WASHINGTON.

'The errors of great men,' says an eloquent writer, 'are doubly enormous: enormous as they contradict the tenor of their lives—and enormous by the force of example and the species of palliation which they afford to vulgar criminals, whose vices are unredeemed by one single virtue.'

Unhappily, these errors, owing to a criminal timidity or fear of plain dealing, are too often suffered to pass without rebuke; until they become almost sacred as virtues in the estimation of loose moralists, and so are included among the privileges of human action. He who imitates the prophet Nathan, in his faithful conduct towards the erring David, and tells the great transgressor of his crimes, subjects himself to the charge of impudence, malice, or slander. Nevertheless, 'faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.'

The following Letter was written in 1796, by an eminent philanthropist in Liverpool. Although it was silently returned, may we not hope that its pungent truths (associated, however, with the most liberal concessions) sunk too deeply into the heart of the 'Father of his Country' to be eradicated, and induced him, on his decease three years afterwards, to manumit nearly all his slaves?

In July last, the following Letter was transmitted to the person to whom it was addressed, and a few weeks ago it was returned under cover without a syllable in reply. As children that are crammed with confectionary, have no relish for plain food; so men in power, who are seldom addressed but in the sweet tones of adulation, are apt to be disgusted with the plain and salutary language of truth. To offend was not the intention of the writer; yet the President has evidently been irritated: this, however, is not a bad symptom—for irritation, causelessly excited, will fre-

quently subside into shame; and to use the language of the moralist, 'Where there is yet shame, there may in time be virtue.'

Liverpool, February 20, 1797.

LETTER TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It will generally be admitted, Sir, and perhaps with justice, that the great family of mankind were never more benefitted by the military abilities of any individual, than by those which you displayed during the memorable American contest. Your country was injured, your services were called for, you immediately arose, and after performing the most conspicuous part in that blood-stained tragedy, you again became a private citizen, and unambitiously retired to your farm. There was more of true greatness in this procedure than the modern world, at least, had ever beheld; and while public virtue is venerated by your countrymen, a conduct so exalted will not be forgotten. The effects which your revolution will have upon the world are incalculable. By the flame which you have kindled, every oppressed nation will be enabled to perceive its fetters; and when man once knows that he is enslaved, the business of emancipation is half performed. France has already burst her shackles, neighboring nations will in time prepare, and another half century may behold the present besotted Europe without a Peer, without a Hierarchy, and without a Despot. If men were enlightened, revolutions would be bloodless; but how are men to be enlightened, when it is the interest of governors to keep the governed in ignorance? 'To enlighten men,' says your old correspondent, Arthur Young, 'is to make them bad subjects.' Hurricanes spread devastation; yet hurricanes are not only transient, but give salubrity to the torrid regions, and are quickly followed by azure skies and calm sunshine. Revolutions, too, for a time, may produce turbulence; yet revolutions clear the political atmosphere, and contribute greatly to the comfort and happiness of the human race. What you yourself have lived to witness in the United States, is sufficient to elucidate my position. In your rides along the banks of your favorite Potomac, in your frequent excursions through your own extensive grounds, how gratifying must be your sensations on beholding the animated scenery around you, and how pleasurable must be your feelings, on reflecting that your country is now an asylum for mankind: that her commerce, her agriculture, and her population, are greater than at any former period: and that this prosperity is the natural result of those rights which you defended against an abandoned cabinet, with all that ability which men, who unsheathe the sword in the cause of human nature, will, I trust, ever display. Where Liberty is, there man walks erect, and puts forth all his powers; while Slavery, like a torpedo, benumbs the finest energies of the

soul. But it is not to the Commander in Chief of the American forces, nor to the President of the United States, that I have aught to address; my business is with George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, a man who, notwithstanding his hatred of oppression and his ardent love of liberty, holds at this moment *hundreds* of his fellow beings in a state of abject bondage. Yes, you, who conquered under the banners of freedom—you, who are now the first magistrate of a free people, are (strange to relate) a slaveholder. That a Liverpool merchant should endeavor to enrich himself by such a business, is not a matter of surprise; but that you, an enlightened character, strongly enamored of your own freedom—you, who, if the British forces had succeeded in the Eastern States, would have retired, with a few congenial spirits, to the rude fastnesses of the Western wilderness, there to have enjoyed that blessing, without which a Paradise would be disgusting, and with which the most savage region is not without its charms; that you, I say, should continue a slaveholder, a proprietor of human flesh and blood, creates in many of your British friends both astonishment and regret. You are a republican, an advocate for the dissemination of knowledge, and for universal justice:—where then are the arguments by which this shameless dereliction of principle can be supported? Your friend Jefferson has endeavored to show that the negroes are an inferior order of beings; but surely you will not have recourse to such a subterfuge. Your slaves, it may be urged, are well treated. That I deny—man can never be well treated who is deprived of his rights. They are well clothed, well lodged, &c. Feed me with ambrosia, and wash it down with nectar; yet what are these, if Liberty be wanting? You took up arms in defence of the rights of man. Your negroes are men:—where then are the rights of your negroes? They have been inured to slavery, and are not fit for freedom. Thus it was said of the French; but where is the man of unbiassed common sense, who will assert that the French republicans of the present day are not fit for freedom? It has been said too by your apologists, that your feelings are inimical to slavery, that you are induced to acquiesce in it at present, merely from motives of policy. The only true policy is justice; and he who regards the consequences of an act, rather than the justice of it, gives no very exalted proof of the greatness of his character. But if your feelings be actually repugnant to slavery, then are you more culpable than the callous-hearted planter, who laughs at what he calls the pitiful whining of the abolitionists, because he believes slavery to be justifiable: while you persevere in a system which your conscience tells you to be wrong. If we call the man obdurate, who cannot perceive the atrociousness of slavery,

what epithets does he deserve, who, while he does perceive its atrociousness, continues to be a proprietor of slaves? Nor is it likely that your own unfortunate negroes are the only sufferers by your adhering to this nefarious business; consider the force of an example like yours, consider how many of the sable race may now be pining in bondage, merely, forsooth, because the President of the United States, who has the character of a wise and good man, does not see cause to discontinue the long established practice. Of all the slaveholders under heaven, those of the United States appear to me the most reprehensible; for man is never so truly odious as when he inflicts upon others that which he himself abominates.

When the cup of Slavery was presented to your countrymen, they rejected it with disdain, and appealed to the world in justification of their conduct; yet such is the inconsistency of man, that thousands upon thousands of those very people, with yourself amongst the number, are now sedulously employed in holding the self-same bitter draught to the lips of their sable brethren. From men who are strongly attached to their own rights, and who have suffered much in their defence, one might have expected a scrupulous attention to the rights of others; did not experience show, that when we ourselves are oppressed, we perceive it with a lynx's eye; but when we become the oppressors, no noon-tide bats are blinder. Prosperity perhaps may make nations as well as individuals forget the distresses of other times; yet surely the citizens of America cannot so soon have forgotten the variety and extent of their own sufferings. When your country lay bruised by the iron hand of despotism, and you were compelled to retreat through the Jerseys with a handful of half naked followers,—when the bayonet of the mercenary glistened at your back, and Liberty seemed about to expire,—when your farms were laid waste, your towns reduced to ashes, and your plains and woods were strewn with the mangled bodies of your brave defenders; when these events were taking place, every breast could feel, and every tongue could execrate the sanguinary proceedings of Britain; yet what the British were at that period, you are in a great degree at this—you are boastful of your own rights—you are violators of the rights of others, and you are stimulated by an insatiable rapacity, to a cruel and relentless oppression. If the wrongs which you now inflict be not so severe as those which were inflicted upon you, it is not because you are less inhuman than the British, but because the unhappy objects of your tyranny have not the power of resistance. In defending your own liberties, you undoubtedly suffered much; yet if your negroes, emulating the spirited example of their masters, were to throw off the galling yoke, and, retiring peaceably to some, uninhabited

part of the western region, were to resolve on Liberty or Death, what would be the conduct of southern planters on such an occasion? Nay, what would be your conduct? You who were 'born in a land of liberty,' who 'early learned its value,' you, who 'engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it,' you who, 'in a word, devoted the best years of your life to secure its permanent establishment in your own country, and whose anxious recollections, whose sympathetic feelings, and whose best wishes are irresistibly excited whenever in any country, you see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom,'* possessed of these energetic sentiments, what would be your conduct? Would you have the virtue to applaud so just and animating a movement as a revolt of your southern negroes? No! I fear both you and your countrymen would rather imitate the cold blooded British Cabinet, and to gratify your own sordid views, would scatter among an offending people, terror, desolation, and death. Harsh as this conclusion may appear, it is warranted by your present practice; for the man who can boast of his own rights, yet hold two or three hundred of his fellow beings in slavery, would not hesitate, in case of a revolt, to employ the most sanguinary means in his power, rather than forego that which the *truly* republican laws of his country are *pleased* to call his property. Shame! shame! that man should be deemed the property of man, or that the name of Washington should be found among the list of such proprietors. Should these strictures be deemed severe or unmerited on your part, how comes it, that while in the northern and middle states, the exertions of the virtuous Quakers, and other philanthropists, have produced such regulations as must speedily eradicate every trace of slavery in that quarter; how comes it, that from you these humane efforts have never received the least countenance? If your mind have not sufficient firmness to do away that which is wrong the moment you perceive it to be such, one might have expected that a plan for ameliorating the evil would have met with your warmest support; but no such thing. The just example of a majority of the States has had no visible effect upon you; and as to the men of Maryland, of Virginia, of the two Carolinas, of Georgia, and of Kentucky, they smile contemptuously at the idea of negro emancipation, and, with the State Constitutions in one hand, and the cow-skin in the other, exhibit to the world such a spectacle, as every real friend to Liberty must from his soul abominate.

'Then what is man, and what man seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head to think himself a man?'

* See the answer of the President of the United States to the address of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, on presenting the colors of France to the United States.

A Negro's Soliloquy on the Ten Commandments.

Man does not readily perceive defects in what he has been accustomed to venerate; hence it is that you have escaped those animadversions which your slave proprietorship has so long merited. For seven years you bravely fought the battles of your country, and contributed greatly to the establishment of her liberties; yet you are a slaveholder! You have been raised by your fellow-citizens to one of the most exalted situations upon earth, the first magistrate of a free people; yet you are a slaveholder! A majority of your countrymen have recently discovered that slavery is injustice, and are gradually abolishing the wrong; yet you continue to be a slaveholder!—You are a firm believer, too, and your letters and speeches are replete with pious reflections on the Divine Being, Providence, &c.; yet you are a slaveholder! Oh! Washington, 'ages to come will read with astonishment' that the man who was foremost to wrench the rights of America from the tyrannical grasp of Britain, was among the last to relinquish his own oppressive hold of poor and unoffending negroes.

In the name of justice, what can induce you to tarnish your own well earned celebrity, and to impair the fair features of American liberty with so foul and indelible a blot? Avarice is said to be the vice of age. Your slaves, old and young, male and female, father, mother and child, might, in the estimation of a Virginia planter, be worth from fifteen to twenty thousand pounds. Now, Sir, are you sure that the unwillingness which you have shewn to liberate your negroes, does not proceed from some lurking pecuniary considerations? If this be the case, and there are those who firmly believe it is, then there is no flesh left in your heart; and present reputation, future fame, and all that is estimable among the virtuous, are, for a few thousand pieces of paltry yellow dirt, irremediably renounced.

EDWARD RUSHTON.

SLAVERY A VIOLATION OF ALL THE COMMANDMENTS.

A more simple or affecting illustration of the moral turpitude of slavery, by its violation of all the Commandments, than is contained in the following '*Soliloquy*,' cannot be drawn. We extract it from Saunder's News-Letter of Oct. 30, 1832, printed at Dublin. Reader, art thou indeed a Christian, and canst thou apologize for a system like this, or believe that its instant and utter abolition would be injurious to the masters or to the slaves? If so, listen to

A NEGRO'S SOLILOQUY ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

What dis? good preacher-man gave me dis,—told me learn it; massa no ever shew it

me: good buckra-man say it God's words. What be dese Ten Commandments? who God speak 'em to? perhaps only to white man. Bad white man no mind what God say; perhaps God speak 'em to poor black man; me spell 'em—me no able read well.

'I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt.'

Where Egypt? me stolen from Africa,—perhaps that;—oh no! white man do that—not God. Me now remember, good preacher one time say, Jews slaves in Egypt;—good God did bring 'em out;—me suppose white man den master in Egypt;—Jews like poor black man;—me slave here—me in Egypt. Oh, Lord my God, bring me out! Me den obey God.

I. 'Thou shalt have none other gods, but me.'

What that mean? Oh, Lord my God, how glad poor negro be, he had no other God before thee; but his massa no let him have you;—his massa make him work all day, den no let teacher come at night to teach him—what can poor negro do? massa no let him go. Where shall poor negro find him's God?—What can it mean? my massa make me too much 'fraid; he tell me negro must 'bey him first;—den he same like first God to me. But God tell me, I must 'bey him first. What sal I do? God very good: perhaps He forgive poor negro, if him obey his massa first; massa no forgive me, if I 'bey God first. Oh, Lord my God, forgive me, I not first obey you: me too much afraid my massa; my massa no forgive me, like you. Oh, Lord God, how good dat be for poor negro, when he have no oder God before dee.

II. 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing, that is in Heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.'

Me no understand how dat;—in my own country my priests make many Gods, some stone, some wood, some gold; like men, like beast, like fish; my king worship all; he kind to me; my priest kind to me too,—me happy there;—black man live long there, with old grandfather;—they no beat me,—they let me work for myself;—here, white man say, but one God, and he no see him, and he good God;—but white massa no love him;—white massa no love me;—yet massa merry, massa rich, massa happy;—me sad,—my child sad;—black man always slave,—black child always slave;—why dat? perhaps no God!—But good preacher man say, dere is one God in Heaven;—he good man,—he love me,—he speak truth;—me believe him;—God speak, me believe him most.

III. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh His name in vain.'

A Negro's Soliloquy on the Ten Commandments.

How can me learn dat?—my massa swear,—my driver swear,—my mississ swear;—all round me swear;—Suppose I no swear, dey all curse me.—Oh my Lord, tell my massa, not swear so;—tell my mississ not be so angry;—tell my driver not lick poor negro so much;—den me can stop swear;—Oh Lord, forgive poor negro,—how can he stop swear? dey all swear and curse poor negro so.

IV. 'Remember, that thou keep holy the Sabbath day; six days shalt thou labor, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God,—in it thou shalt do no manner of work; thou and thy son and thy daughter; thy man-servant and thy maid-servant; thy cattle; and the stranger, that is within thy gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.'

Oh massa God! when will dey let me keep holy de Sabbath day?—But no rest for poor negro,—all six days long him mus work for his massa;—seven day him mus work for himself, or him's wife and him's pickaninny must starve wid him; massa no keep Sabbath day holy;—massa go shoot;—massa go sleep,—massa no go worship;—driver angry,—driver flog;—oh Lord my God, tell my massa give poor negro time, oder day, work for himself; so him can rest on Sabbath day;—tell massa, not let driver flog poor negro so, make him work on dy holy day.

V. 'Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.'

Who dey be? where negro's fader an moder? how can him honor dem?—suppose him see driver flog his fader, what can he do?—suppose him see driver throw down his moder, flog her, lick her;—she cry—she bleed;—negro say one word, he too be throw down;—driver curse him—driver lick him;—he go tell massa;—massa lick him 'gain;—he go tell magistrate; magistrate call him 'black rascal';—send him to work-house,—order him be flog;—then send back to his massa;—his massa flog him;—send him to driver;—driver flog him;—put him in stocks,—drive him,—lick him,—may be kill him;—What for? 'cause negro tell him, not make his poor moder bleed so;—Oh Lord, tell his massa, let poor negro alone, to honor his fader and moder;—Oh Lord my God, what land gave thou me? gave all land to massa;—he live long,—me die soon.

VI. 'Thou shalt do no murder.'

De good buckra man tell me,—Angry in heart, dat same like murder;—de bad buckra man, he make me angry all de day;—Oh what sal I do? me believe good buckra man; den me know, great God angry wid me;—dat very bad; me no believe him, den me like kill de bad buckra man;—he flog him so,—he so angry,—he take him wife—him child;—he no hear,—me say one word, he mad; den no

body can help de poor negro: his massa same like devil to him;—nobody can come between 'em;—his massa do just what he like;—King forget poor negro—buckra man in England no can help him;—good misshunary man, no can help him;—all white men murder him.—Oh Lord God, tell 'em no treat poor negro so bad,—den he not so angry in his heart,—den he no more can do so much murder.—Oh help de good buckra man, come soon help him.

VII. 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.'

How can me help dat? They no let me marry in church;—ine marry in house; sometimes de wicked buckra massa, more time driver take away my wife; take away my child;—den me ready to kill 'em;—that same like murder;—what good for me to marry?—suppose I get preacher marry me; den I commit more murder, in my heart; den God more angry wid me;—Oh Lord God, tell him massa not take away negro's wife—not take away negro's child,—no let oders take 'em away,—not sell 'em,—not separate 'em from me;—not flog 'em—let 'em stay home take care of negro's pickaninny;—den negro can have one wife,—den negro can no commit adultery.—Oh den, negro work too much for such kind massa.

VIII. 'Thou shalt not steal.'

Lord my God! dey steal me,—dey no let me go;—they starve me,—I no get 'nough eat;—my wife cry,—my pickaninny hungry,—I look 'bout;—no bread—no yam;—no nothing; me go out,—me most mad,—me 'fraid;—den my poor little pickaninny cry 'gain;—den me no more tink 'bout any thing;—only go get something for my child eat;—how can me help dat? Me must steal:—tell my massa let me go;—tell my massa pay me fair;—tell my massa no steal no more, my time, my sweat, my work, my wages;—den me no more steal his cane;—den me get cane my own;—den me give massa some my cane, not leave him starve, not come steal it.

IX. 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.'

O Lord my God, dey bear false witness 'gainst me;—they say I slave;—God say, I no slave;—I MAN;—they say I steal from them,—but dey steal great deal more from me, and no shamed;—they say king must pay them, if king make us free;—but what for king must pay them? King must pay me:—we no owe massa any thing, massa owe us too much; massa no buy us, do us good; massa no buy us, do King good; massa buy us, same like buy pig, do himself good;—so long we work for massa, he eat all our work;—he drink our sweat;—he shed our blood;—he bear too much false witness against us:—how glad we be, if massa at last tell truth about poor negro, and say same about him, as God say, he MAN;—and same as good buckra man says, he have right be free, same any oder Englishman.

Song of the Angels.—Child's Evening Hymn.—The Slave's Appeal.

X. 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house ;—
thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife ;—nor his serv-
ant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass ;—nor any
thing that is his.'

My massa got Bible ;—what make him
covet my little hut,—my wife,—my child ;—
perhaps he no read ;—Oh how much he
covet poor negro ;—he covet negro's body ;
—suppose poor negro got soul, he covet
negro's soul too ;—he covet negro's time,—
he no give negro rest ;—he no give negro
no time learn read Bible ;—he not care
'bout read Bible himself ; so he tink perhaps
me not care too ;—he covet negro's work ; he
no let negro work for himself,—for his wife,
for his little pickaninny ;—he covet negro
wages ;—he take all negro's money 'way, an
call it his own ;—Oh he be great thief, how he
steal from poor negro ;—he all covet ; then
suppose poor negro too hungry ;—suppose
him wife, him child, too hungry ;—he take bit
sugar cane, suck, give his child to suck—carry
to his wife say, here, see little bit sugar cane,
you suck that ; then you not be so hungry no
more ; massa find out ; he call negro thief ;
that is lie ; massa thief ; massa great thief ;
massa covet all negro got ; massa steal all ne-
gro got ; massa no let negro get any thing ;
then call poor negro thief ; dat too bad !—Oh
Lord, tell de buckra man not covet negro so
much, not covet negro's wife ; negro's child ;
negro's time ; negro's work ; negro's wages ;
negro's soul ; negro's all ;—so den negro can
learn too, not covet ; den negro can learn love
buckra man ; negro now love de good buckra
man ; some time he see de good buckra man
cry for him, 'cause he no can help poor negro.
Oh Lord, bless de good buckra man ; forgive
the bad buckra man ! Oh Lord, turn his
heart ; tell him not covet, not steal, not 'buse
poor negro so. Oh Lord, help poor negro
himself not covet.

Amen ! amen ! so may it be, and soon ! oh
Lord !

[For the Abolitionist.]

THE SONG OF THE ANGELS.

Hark ! the glad news the angels bring,
And to the listening shepherds sing :
'Peace on earth to man be given,'
And earth repeats the sound to heaven.

Scarce had the angels reached the sky,
When earth was heard to heave a sigh ;
O'er Afric's sons a chain is cast,
And man now binds his brother fast.

The sun for years through heaven has shone,
And still poor Afric's left to groan ;
While all things else in earth and sea,
That feel his warmth, are bright and free.

To heaven, poor slave, address thy prayer,
And it shall find acceptance there ;
For thou hast surely said, oh God,
That thou wilt break th' oppressor's rod.

Welcome the hour when war shall cease,
And man with man shall live in peace,
Then Ethiop's sons shall be restor'd,
And live the freemen of the Lord.

Then shall arrive that blessed time,
When all who dwell in Afric's clime,
Shall hear with joy those happy strains,
The angels sung on Bethlehem's plains.

[From the Liberator.]

THE CHILD'S EVENING HYMN.

Father, while the daylight dies,
Hear our grateful voices rise !
For the blessings that we share,
For thy kindness and thy care,
For the joy that fills our breast,
And the love that makes us blest,
We thank thee, Father !

For an earthly father's arm,
Shielding us from wrong and harm ;
For a mother's watchful cares,
Mingled with her many prayers ;
For the happy kindred band,
Midst whose peaceful links we stand,—
We thank thee, Father !

Yet, while 'neath the evening skies,
Thus we bid our thanks arise,
Father ! still we think of those,
Who are bowed with many woes ;
Whom no earthly parent's arm
Can protect from wrong and harm,—
The poor slaves, Father !

Ah ! while we are richly blest,
They are wretched and distressed !
Outcasts in their native land,
Crush'd beneath oppression's hand,
Scarcely knowing even thee,
Mighty Lord of earth and sea !
Oh save them, Father !

Touch the flinty hearts that long
Have remorseless done them wrong ;
Ope the eyes that long have been
Blinded to each guilty scene ;
That the slave—a slave no more—
Grateful thanks to thee may pour,
And bless thee, Father !

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

THE SLAVE'S APPEAL.

Christian mother, when thy prayer
Trembles on the twilight air,
And thou askest God to keep,
In their waking and their sleep,
Those whose love is more to thee
Than the wealth of land or sea,
Think of those who wildly mourn
For the loved ones from them torn !

Christian daughter, sister, wife !
Ye who wear a guarded life—
Ye whose bliss hangs not, like mine,
On a tyrant's word or sign,
Will ye hear, with careless eye,
Of the wild despairing cry,
Rising up from human hearts,
As their latest bliss departs ?

Blest ones ! whom no hands on earth,
Dare to wrench from home and hearth,
Ye whose hearts are sheltered well
By affection's holy spell,
Oh forget not those, for whom
Life is nought but changeless gloom,
O'er whose days of cheerless sorrow,
Hope may paint no brighter morrow !

AGNES.